

The American Culture of War¹

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It was a time to give a soldier deep concern, for in that period following the end of World War II, there was a growing feeling that in the armies of the future the foot soldier would play only a very minor role. Two factors stimulated this thinking—the earnest desire of the nation to cut down on its military expenditures, and the erroneous belief that in the atomic missile, delivered by air, we had found the ultimate weapon. . . . My arguments regarding air power . . . were in no sense a protest against emphasis on the air arm. They were in protest against what I sincerely believed to be an overemphasis on one form of air power, the long-range bomber, to the neglect of other means by which the magnificent weapon, the combat airplane, can be employed.

To fight the war of the future we must possess the capability not only to transport the nuclear bomb for great distances, and drop it with fine accuracy on a target. We must also possess the capability to lift whole armies, armed with nuclear weapons, and put them down upon any spot on the earth's surface where their tremendous, and selective, firepower will be needed.²

—General Matthew B. Ridgway Chief of Staff, US Army, 1953–55

General Ridgway believed that the lesson of the Korean War was that the US Army had been unprepared to fight the type of war it faced, and as a consequence, the lives of American servicemen had been needlessly lost. (I would add that had the Army sustained the ability to generate significant combat power there *may* have been no war. By 1950, the US Army had lost much of its ability to deter war.) Ridgway wrote in his memoirs: “It was the bitter lesson, learned through our experience in Korea at such a cost in blood and national prestige, that steeled me in my resolution later, when as Chief of Staff, I protested with greatest vehemence against ‘economies’ which would have placed us in the same relative state of ineffectiveness.”³ In Ridgway's view, the Army should maintain a large, well-trained, well-equipped, strategically deployable force to meet contingencies around the world. And they should not be a tripwire force for the initiation of nuclear war.

Thesis

Today, the US Army is again too small. In the fourth year of the second Persian Gulf War, almost everyone recognizes this fact. But let me make an argument that the US Army has been too small since World War II, and that the reasons it was too small in the opening days of the Korean War are applicable today. Let me argue that the situation in Korea and in Iraq were a function of a new American culture of war that evolved during and immediately following World War II. It is a culture of war that—

1. Places abnormal faith in the capabilities of advanced technologies to solve every human problem, including the conduct of war.

2. Places trust in unproven, Gee-Whiz doctrines to achieve military and political objectives.
3. Diminishes the role of human beings in war and diminishes the role of the Army ground forces in war.
4. Eliminates the American people from the conduct of the Nation's wars. America's wars since the Vietnam War have not been national wars (In 1973, conscription ended, and the All-Volunteer Force came into being.) The American people have removed themselves from the conduct of the Nation's wars.
5. Disengages Americans from the people they seek to lead, "leader of the free-world," and whose resources they seek to manage. Americans have demonstrated a great reluctance to learn foreign languages, to travel in foreign lands, and to become familiar with foreign cultures.
6. Seeks to maintain world dominance, seeks to maintain the role of superpower, and seeks to maintain the American empire. Americans have grown accustomed to being the dominant power on Earth.

In brief, Americans endeavor to minimize the human element in war and to emphasize the role of materiel and technology. They invest trillions of dollars in weapons technology and are the largest arms producers on Earth. Americans have formed a military cluster that no longer reflects the demographics of the Nation. They seek to employ surrogate forces and professional military firms to replace them. Their lives, in real dollars, greatly exceed the value of the lives of the people in the parts of the world where US forces are at war. Americans want and seek to control and manage world affairs and resources such as oil. However, they betray little interest in world cultures and foreign languages. They do not want to engage people of foreign lands. Political leaders have embraced this new culture of war because it frees them of direct responsibility and accountability to the American people. Conscription ended in 1973, giving political leaders greater freedom to go to war and to wage any conflict as they saw fit. How did we get here, and is this where we want to be? Is this way of war in the best interest of the Nation and the world?

During World War II and in the early years of the Cold War, the American culture of war underwent a fundamental transformation primarily as a function of—

- Revolutions in technology.
- The value Americans have traditionally placed on the lives of other Americans.
- The assumption by the United States of a new role in world affairs—that of superpower and leader of the free world.
- The advent of artificial, limited war, a function of the development of nuclear weapons.

Let's consider each of these areas. The first, as Ridgway recognized, is technology. *Americans place enormous faith in the power of technology to solve all the ills of humanity, including war.* This faith developed in the early 19th century and is too frequently irrational. Americans since World War II have believed that airpower was the dominant instrument for the conduct of war. And, in every war since, they have tried to prove it. However, they have never done so. Consequently, they have had to go back to plan B—the employment of the US Army, which frequently ranked last in priority for new technology, manpower procurement, training, and equipment.

The second reason is the sincere desire to conserve American lives. The United States since World War II has substituted its materiel and technological wealth for its manpower wealth. The “pursuit of happiness,” written into the Declaration of Independence, is an acknowledgment of the value Americans place on the lives of other Americans. American strategies and doctrines have been designed to conserve American lives. Simply put, Americans don't want to fight wars with their ground forces. They would prefer to substitute America's technological or materiel wealth or provide some other state with the materials they need to fight the war. This thinking was evident in Roosevelt's Arsenal of Democracy program that made possible the “loan” of billions of dollars of Lend-Lease goods to Allies and in Rumsfeld's employment of surrogate forces in Afghanistan.

The third reason is that Americans have never fully recognized the responsibilities they assumed after World War II when the United States assumed the duties as leader of the free world and superpower. In the wake of World War II, the United States became a European land power with the occupation of what became West Germany and an Asian Pacific land and sea power with the occupation of Japan and Korea. Arguably, the United States and its Allies needed to maintain an Army equivalent to that maintained by Germany and Japan before World War II to provide adequate security. Given these and the numerous other responsibilities the United States assumed following the collapse of the British and French Empires, the United States has never maintained sufficient ground forces to protect these and other possessions. The US Army, as Ridgway noted, has in fact been a trip wire for war, incapable of actually defending Korea or, at times, West Germany, or other parts of the world. The Army has been forward deployed more as a warning force than an actual deterrent force.

The final factor was the development of artificial limited war. The revolution in technology, brought about by the invention of nuclear weapons, created artificial limited war. During the Middle Ages and the age of the absolute monarch, wars were limited because of the nature of war. Mankind was incapable of fighting a more total war because of very real limitations. With the invention of nuclear weapons and having recently witnessed the unparalleled carnage of World War II, mankind endeavored to place artificial limitations on war. Limitations on the weapons employed, the expansion of war to geographic regions beyond the initial fields of battle, the manpower committed, and other restraints were implemented to preclude total nuclear war, which ultimately could result in the extinction of humanity.

All of these factors came together and transformed the American culture of war. This new way of war has not served the people of the United States well. It has proven ineffective, has caused great harm, and has the potential to cause even greater harm at home and abroad. The American culture of war needs to change significantly.

Methodology

A few words about methodology are required: *War is a cultural endeavor*. The way a nation goes about fighting war is, to a large degree, a function of its culture. Other factors such as geography, history, military tradition, and heritage also influence the way a nation fights war. However, these factors also influence culture. Culture thus plays a central role in the way a given people fight war. Culture creates the parameters for decisionmaking and tenets on which decisions are made.⁴ If we employ a cultural approach, it is evident that there is considerable continuity in the military behavior of the United States. The situation in Iraq is not unique, but arguably the norm. This is not a new approach or thesis. The works of John Shy, Russell Weigley, Sir Basil H. Liddell Hart, Victor Davis Hanson, John Lynn, Colin Gray, and others advance this methodology. John Shy wrote:

By thus measuring long-run continuity and broad consensus, rather than changes or internal conflict, we are regarding American society as in some sense a living organism whose behavior reveals coherence and consistency, and which can be said to learn from and remember its military past. . . . Learning theory invites us to challenge this common-sense approach by considering the possibility that the explanatory importance of events should be reckoned not by *proximity*, but by *priority* in historical time.⁵

Given this analysis, the most significant events in the life of the United States are the American Revolution, the Civil War, and World War II. Arguably, these events, the most traumatic in the Nation's history, formed the foundation of the American culture of war. However, more recent experiences in war cannot be totally neglected. The Vietnam War exerted an enormous influence on the American way of thinking about war.

Colin Gray, the British naval historian, also advanced a cultural methodology. He wrote:

Culture refers to the socially transmitted habits of mind, traditions, and preferred methods of operations that are more or less specific to a particular geographically based security community. Culture may be qualified for more precise usage, as in strategic culture or political culture. . . . Strategic culture is the result of opportunities, of resources, of the skill with which those opportunities and resources have been managed, and of the lessons which a society decides its unfolding history should teach. To a considerable degree societies are prisoners of their past. Policymakers have been educated both formally and by life experiences in their particular society to expect certain relationships generally to hold true. . . .⁶

Of course, if we accept that culture does matter, that it does in fact influence human behavior in the real world, then the great problems are, one, to determine which cultural tenets exert the greatest influence at a given time. Two, to determine how culture was (is) manifested; that is, what behaviors it caused. And finally, how those behaviors influenced events; that is, how they made history. Over the past 60 years, I believe we Americans have learned little about the nature of war and that in fact we have unlearned much about humanity and war. The one exception is in the area of the employment of advanced technologies. We have learned much about developing new technologies and doctrines; however, I would argue that American military technologies have caused dangerous delusions that have damaged the Nation's ability to effectively fight war and achieve military and political objectives.

The New Role of the United States in World Affairs

Following Roosevelt's death, President Harry S. Truman accepted the new role for the United States in world affairs—the special place of the United States among nations, the dominance of American power, and the burden of leadership it created. In 1945, he told the American people:

Whether we like it or not, we must all recognize that the victory which we have won [World War II] has placed upon the American people the continuing burden of responsibility for world leadership. The future peace of the world will depend in large part upon whether or not the United States shows that it is really determined to continue in its role as a leader among nations. It will depend upon whether or not the United States is willing to maintain the physical strength necessary to act as a safeguard against any future aggressor. Together with the other United Nations, we must be willing to make the sacrifices necessary to protect the world from future aggressive warfare. In short, we must be prepared to maintain in constant and immediate readiness sufficient military strength to convince any future potential aggressor that this nation, in its determination for a lasting peace, means business.

Truman, while accepting this new responsibility for the nation, was slow to fully understand the duties that went along with it. Historically, the United States had not maintained large standing forces immediately ready for war. This new level of commitment of national resources to the defense of foreign shores marked a major change in US foreign policy and national strategy. The rapid collapse of the British and French Empires, the advance of communism, and the Soviet acquisition of the atomic bomb placed expanding new demands on the United States. Not until North Korea attacked South Korea, however, did Truman comprehend and accept the new duties incumbent on the United States, and even after the start of hostilities, the American people were uncertain about their new duties in world affairs.

The fight that was the Cold War created the environment and the conditions for the transformation in American thinking about the use of military force and the conduct of war. The Cold War (1945–90) was a period when the two most powerful nation-states on the planet continuously prepared to go to war with one another and indirectly fought wars through surrogate, peripheral, nonaligned states. It was a period when they formed strategic mutual defense alliances, NATO and the Warsaw Pact, to strengthen their ability to defend themselves and destroy their opponents. It was a period of global turmoil, when the exertions of World War II caused the collapse of European imperialism, and nationalism spread to India, Pakistan, China, Indochina, African nations, the Middle East nations, and other parts of the world. It was a period of great suffering and carnage in developing states racked by wars as they tried to achieve statehood, establish legitimate political systems, reconcile borders that were drawn based on the concerns of European imperialist powers, redress racial and ethnic discrimination, and recover and reorganize after decades and centuries of European rule. It was a period during which the extinction of humanity became a real possibility because each superpower acquired the wherewithal to destroy the other, and ultimately civilization, several times over. It was a period when the superpowers employed armies of scientists and engineers in a race to develop the most destructive weapons and invincible delivery systems. It was a period when the two superpowers competed for allies to make their bloc stronger and fought political, diplomatic,

information, and espionage wars to undermine and weaken their opponent's bloc and alliances. It was a period when the world expended vast resources on armies, navies, and air forces, and militarism invaded the social and political fabric of nations. It was a period when the United States maintained armies, navies, and air forces forward deployed in foreign nations around the world, influencing their economies, internal politics, and culture. It was a period of distrust, uncertainty, and anxiety, punctuated by moments of high fear and tension, a period of ideological entrenchment when paranoia invaded governmental institutions and American society and the police state threatened democracy and individual freedoms. It was also a period of great prosperity in the United States during which Americanism spread around the globe and American culture adjusted to the norms of being in a perpetual state of preparing for or waging war. *The Cold War was ultimately a fight over the political, economic, social, and cultural systems that would dominate Earth.* During this long, costly, and difficult fight, all parties were transformed, politically, geographically, socially, culturally, economically, and militarily.

The Cold War caused the United States to diverge from its traditional way of war. John Shy's assessment of the American culture of war was:

The American Revolutionary War thus became in the national memory and imagination paradigmatic of how America saved itself from being like, and part of, Europe and Europe's problems. . . . Americans, never ready for war, often surprised by it, were repeatedly brought to their knees by the first battles and campaigns. At best gallant, at worst disorganized and demoralized, they came close to complete defeat again and again. Never, however, did they give up. And beyond the humiliation of Brooklyn and the Brandywine lay Saratoga and Yorktown—or Quebec, New Orleans, Gettysburg, Missionary Ridge, Omaha Beach, Leyte Gulf, and Inchon. The Revolutionary War told the story so that all could remember and later repeat it.⁷

The protection provided by two great oceans and the British Fleet and the absence of significant powers in the Americas gave the Americans a century of free security. The United States did not maintain great armies and navies during the 19th century, except during the Civil War. They were not necessary. In addition, Americans were preoccupied with conquering the continent and incorporating the land mass between the Atlantic and Pacific. All this changed by the mid-20th century. In two great wars, Europe spent itself. The British and French Empires started to collapse. The United States, for the first time in its history, was required to maintain large standing forces ready for war. The United States became a European and Asian power. *The problem is that Americans never fully recognized what it meant to be a European power and an Asian power and never fully accepted the fact that it had to be ready for war on day one of the war.* The American traditional practices exerted enormous influence. Consider the following:

- In 1939, when World War II started in Europe, the US Army numbered less than 190,000 men in the Active force.
- In 1945, when World War II came to an end, the US Army ground forces numbered more than 6 million men and 89 divisions.
- In 1950, when the Korean War started, the US Army numbered less than 600,000 men, formed into 10 divisions. And as General Ridgway noted: "We were, in short, in a state of

shameful unreadiness when the Korean War broke out, and there was absolutely no excuse for it. The only reason a combat unit exists at all is to be ready to fight in case of sudden emergency, and no human being can predict when these emergencies will arise. The state of our Army in Japan at the outbreak of the Korean War was inexcusable.”⁸

- In 1952, during the height of the Korean War, the US Army numbered 1,596,419 soldiers, organized into 20 Active-Duty divisions.

- In 1961, on the eve of the Vietnam War, the US Army numbered 858,622 soldiers, roughly half its size 10 years earlier, organized into 14 Active-Duty divisions.

- In 1968, the year of the Tet Offensive in Vietnam, the US Army numbered 1,570,343 soldiers, organized into 19 Active-Duty divisions.⁹

- On the eve of the first Persian Gulf War, the George H. W. Bush Administration was in the process of drawing down American forces. The American people were about to receive a “peace dividend,” primarily at the expense of the Army. Demobilization stopped temporarily, however, to fight the Iraqi Army. After the war, the demobilization continued, and the Army, following the Bush plan, went from almost 800,000 soldiers to less than 500,000 and from 16 divisions to 10 divisions.

- When George W. Bush came into office, the US Army still numbered less than 500,000 men and women, organized into 10 divisions. But in 2001, the new Bush Administration, under the heading “transformation,” started developing plans to cut the Army by more than two divisions. The terrorist attack on 9/11 put a halt to these plans and initiated plans for war in Afghanistan. However, the Bush Administration envisioned a much wider war. It planned for a Global War on Terrorism and a war against Saddam Hussein’s Iraq. At the same time, it initiated no plans to expand the size of the Army or consider reinstitution of the draft. This brief look at history reveals that throughout the Cold War the US Army was repeatedly understrength and typically ill prepared for the war it was ordered to fight.

Revolutionary Technology

Given America’s new role in world affairs, a role that required significant military forces, Americans endeavored to substitute technology and the new doctrines of war for manpower. This was a logical and smart course of action. It leveraged American industrial, materiel, and technological strengths. However, the limitations of this approach were never recognized or established, causing delusions. What was not logical or smart was the conclusion that ground forces were obsolete and hence unnecessary. What was not logical or smart was to gut the Army, to partially disarm in the face of the growing Communist threat. What was not logical or smart was to get rid of the offensive capabilities of American ground forces, which provided a deterrent to war. The United States by its actions literally told the Soviet Union, the People’s Republic of China (PRC), and the North Koreans that it would not defend South Korea. By disarming so thoroughly, the United States invited war.

This revolution in technology, which caused many to believe that ground forces were obsolete, went beyond the invention of the atomic bomb. Jet aircraft technology and missile tech-

nology (demonstrated by the German V-2 rocket in World War II) revolutionized warfare in the minds of Americans. Yet throughout this period, warfare became more primitive. Consider the arguments General Henry H. Arnold advanced in October 1943:

War has become vertical. We are demonstrating daily that it is possible to descend from the skies into any part of the interior of an enemy nation and destroy its power to continue the conflict. War industries, communications, power installations and supply lines are being blasted by attacks from the air. Fighting forces have been isolated, their defenses shattered and sufficient pressure brought by air power alone to force their surrender. Constant pounding from the air is breaking the will of the Axis to carry on. . . . Strategic air power is a war-winning weapon in its own right, and is capable of striking decisive blows far behind the battle line, thereby destroying the enemy's capacity to wage war.

Americans accepted this new thesis on war though it was never proven and was in fact disproved time and again. Eisenhower, in his book *Crusade in Europe*, wrote:

In an instant many of the old concepts of war were swept away. Henceforth, it would seem, the purpose of an aggressor nation would be to stock atom bombs in quantity and to employ them by surprise against the industrial fabric and population centers of its intended victim. Offensive methods would largely concern themselves with the certainty, the volume, and the accuracy of delivery, while the defense would strive to prevent such delivery and in turn launch its store of atom bombs against the attacker's homeland. Even the bombed ruins of Germany suddenly seemed to provide but faint warning of what future war could mean to the people of the earth.¹⁰

In August 1945, the United States demonstrated to the world the most significant innovation in the conduct of war in history. Two small atomic bombs were dropped on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, bringing World War II to an abrupt end. The war ended not with the destruction of the Japanese main army on the field of battle, not with the clash of mighty armies, but with two small nuclear devices and two lone B-29 bombers. These technologies caused many military thinkers to believe that armies were obsolete, that their value in future wars would be to mop up after airpower destroyed the enemy, and that a revolution in warfare had taken place, forever transforming the conduct of war. General Maxwell D. Taylor recalled discussing this new technology with Generals Marshall and Patton near the end of World War II, when he and Patton were first informed of the existence of the atomic bomb. Taylor wrote: "General Patton and I looked at each other in silence, both meditating upon the awful significance of Marshall's words. . . . What if we had had such things to clear our way across Europe? Think of the thousands of our brave soldiers whose lives might have been spared. Now, indeed, I thought, we have a weapon which can keep the peace and never again will a Hitler or a Mussolini dare to use war to impose his will upon the Free World."¹¹ Thus, before the atomic bomb was used against the Japanese, it had created hopes and dreams for saving lives, for winning wars without ground combat, and for deterring war. Eisenhower wrote: "All the developments in method, equipment, and destructive power that we were studying seemed minor innovations compared to *the revolutionary impact of the atom bomb*. . . . [E]ven without the actual experience of its employment, the reports that reached us after the first one was used at Hiroshima on August 6 left no doubt in our minds that a new era of warfare had begun."¹² In this new era, the role of armies was uncertain, and whatever part they played in future wars, their status would never again equal that achieved in World War II.

In 1921, the Italian military theorist, Giulio Douhet, in a book titled *The Command of the Air*, prophesized that airpower was going to be the decisive arm for the conduct of war and that armies and navies were becoming obsolete and would be relegated to the position of auxiliary forces in war. He wrote, “The brutal but inescapable conclusion we must draw is this: in face of the technical development of aviation today, in case of war the strongest army we can deploy in the Alps and the strongest navy we can dispose on our seas will prove no effective defense against determined efforts of the enemy to bomb our cities.”¹³ In World War II, only the British and the American invested vast sums in an unproven method of war, *strategic bombing*.¹⁴ There were many reasons for this. Both the United States and Britain were in the “power projection” business of war. Both nations fought wars in other people’s homelands. This required the projection of power. The airplane was a versatile instrument for projecting power deep into enemy countries. The Americans and British also preferred technological and materiel solutions to problems. They believed that technology saved lives, reduced casualties, and hastened the end of war. They believed that with more capable, sophisticated technology fewer soldiers on the ground were necessary. They tended to view technology as a panacea for the ills of mankind.¹⁵ In addition, the airplane was seen as taking the place of naval vessels. The Navy was the first line of defense before the invention of the airplane. Air forces took on the job of first line of defense. Naval forces were vulnerable to air forces; however, navies saved themselves by acquiring their own air forces. Thus, the airplane, strategic bombing doctrine, and nuclear weapons seemed to many to be the answer to all future wars.

In June 1950, when North Korea attacked South Korea, General Douglas MacArthur was told to employ air and naval forces to stop the advance of the North Korean Army. Those means proved incapable of stemming the North Korean tide. As a consequence, MacArthur requested the assistance of the US Eighth Army stationed in Japan. Had the Eighth Army not been located nearby, South Korea would probably not exist today. Airpower was supposed to win the next war. It didn’t, and the cost in the lives of American soldiers was high. To be sure, airpower working with ground forces generated greater combat power than was possible by ground forces alone and diminished United Nations casualties.

In Vietnam, the Army fought the entire war on the strategic defense. It could not invade North Vietnam, Laos, or Cambodia. As Clausewitz noted, decisive result required strategically offensive operations.¹⁶ All ground forces could do was not lose the war. And for 10 years, they did this. It is not well known that the Army and Marine Corps were not supposed to win the war. Airpower was supposed to win the war. Airpower was the only strategic offensive arm. It was employed under a new doctrine, Graduated Response. This was a civilian doctrine created at American universities. This was not Air Force doctrine. In fact, it violated Air Force doctrine. And it did not work. It did not take into account the human factor. Defeat in Vietnam, however, did not change the minds of Americans in regard to the effectiveness of airpower. To explain the outcome of the first Persian Gulf War, Richard Hallion wrote:

The Persian Gulf War will be studied by generations of military students, for it confirmed a major transformation in the nature of warfare: the dominance of airpower. As Air Vice Marshall R.A. “Tony” Mason, RAF (ret.), wrote, “The Gulf war marked the apotheosis of twentieth-century airpower.” Simply (if boldly) stated, air power won the Gulf war. It was not a victory of any one service, but rather the victory of coalition air power projection by armies, navies, and air forces. At one end were sophisticated stealth fighters striking out of the dark deep in Iraqi territory. At the other were the

less glamorous but no less important troop and supply helicopters wending their way across the battlefield. In between was every conceivable form of air power application, short of nuclear war, including aircraft carriers, strategic bombers, tactical and strategic airlift, and cruise missiles.¹⁷

In Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, the decisive nature of airpower was again advanced. This time, the doctrine was Shock and Awe. Like Graduated Response, it did not work. The war evolved into an insurgency war, and the ground forces were deployed to take up the fight, again they were plan B. While billions of dollars of the most advanced aircraft ever produced sat silently on runways, the United States was incapable of providing its soldiers with the body armor and communications equipment necessary to fight an insurgency war.

War is ultimately a human endeavor, and man is the decisive instrument on the battlefield. No matter how smart the aircraft, missiles, or bombs, they cannot distinguish between a non-combatant and an enemy soldier. They cannot establish a relationship with the people. They can only destroy and kill. And war is much more than simply killing and destroying. Ultimately, war is about the will of the people. And nothing is better at influencing people than other people; that is, soldiers on the ground. This is a lesson the United States refuses to learn. Technology, to be sure, influences the conduct of war, but it does not determine the outcome of war. Only human beings can do this. There is, however, one exception, nuclear weapons. Nuclear war, however, destroys the nature of war and the Clausewitz tenet that “war is a continuation of political discourse by other means.” Extermination warfare is not a political objective. In nuclear war between significant powers, there are no winners. There are no political objectives worth such an exchange.

Technology has had another significant influence on the American conduct of war. It has diminished the ability of the Armed Forces of the United States to fight on the same battlefield together with synergy. Technology greatly influences service culture. The strategic bomber dominated the cultural thinking of the Air Force throughout the decades of the 1950s and 1960s. The US Air Force trained and equipped its forces to fight thermonuclear war against the Soviet Union; every other mission was secondary. The Air Force, since World War II, has resisted providing the Army with close air support, and in Operation DESERT STORM, the Army and Air Force again disagreed over the employment of airpower.

The aircraft carrier has dominated the cultural thinking of the Navy since World War II. The weapon system has changed little since the 1950s. The aircraft carrier has successfully contained naval thinking for generations. While the US Army is supposed to have forces trained and equipped to fight in any region on Earth, the preferred Army battlefield was the armor/mechanized warfare battlefields of Europe where the Army could employ its most sophisticated technologies. The US Army trained and equipped forces primarily to fight in Europe against the Soviet Union. Other regions of the world were always secondary. Due to these very different orientations, which were a function of technology, the Armed Forces of the United States have been oriented toward specific battlefields, to the neglect of others, and have had great difficulty fighting together on the same battlefield with synergy.

Technology has continuously misled and deluded the American people. Iraq is the latest delusion. The Armed Forces of the United States were also ill prepared for the battlefield in

Korea or Vietnam. Technology causes each service to focus on a specific battlefield no matter how little the chances of such a battle being fought.

Limited War Doctrine

Robert Oppenheimer, the man primarily responsible for the development of the atomic bomb noted in 1953: “*We may anticipate a state of affairs in which the two Great Powers will each be in a position to put an end to the civilization and life of the other, though not without risking its own. We may be likened to two scorpions in a bottle, each capable of killing the other, but only at the risk of his own life.*”¹⁸

Modern limited war was an *artificial* creation caused by the development of nuclear weapons. By limiting the engagements, the two superpower “scorpions” endeavored to preclude the decisive, deadly blow. These limitations, however, were self-imposed. Limited wars of the past, those prior to the advent of the modern nation-state, were limited because they lacked social and political organization; cultural cohesion; nationalistic ideology; military organization and theory; and industrial, logistical, and technological capabilities to fight more total wars. Real, palpable resource restraints limited the capacity of states to project power and conduct war. Modern limited war required a nation-state to place *artificial restraints* on the conduct of war to preclude it from escalating into more total war, nuclear war. Artificial limited war required nations to place limitations on the objectives sought; weapons and manpower employed; the time, terrain, and geographic area of hostilities; and the emotions, passions, energy, attention, and intellect committed by a nation. However, those restraints could be removed at any time. They were fictional barriers that Western nation-states endeavored to observe. Clausewitz noted: “*The bounds of military operations have been extended so far that a return to the old narrow limitations can only occur briefly, sporadically, and under special conditions. The true nature of war will break through again and again with overwhelming force, and must, therefore, be the basis of any permanent military arrangement.*”¹⁹

Nuclear weapons fostered the “special conditions” that created artificial limited war. And the ever-present danger in limited war was that the “true nature” of war would reemerge with all the death and destruction made possible by nuclear weapons. This danger still exists. Nuclear weapons, primarily under the control of the dominant Western powers, eliminated total wars and created limited war. (Pakistan, India, China, Israel, and North Korea now possess nuclear weapons; however, throughout most of the Cold War, Western powers controlled the world’s nuclear arsenals.) However, given human nature and the inevitable distribution of technology, it is by no means certain that this pattern of behavior will continue, particularly as these weapons continue to move beyond the control of Western nation-states that seek to maintain the status quo, to non-Western, developing nation-states that seek to redress the balance of world power.

Clausewitz further explained the natural order of men in war. He wrote: “The maximum use of force is in no way incompatible with the simultaneous use of the intellect. If one side uses forces without compunction, undeterred by the bloodshed it involves, while the other side restrains, the first will gain the upper hand. That side will force the other to follow suit, each will drive its opponent toward extremes, and the only limiting factor are the counterpoises [ele-

ments that man does not control] inherent in war.”²⁰ This, in fact, is more than the use of the “intellect” and “compunction.” This was basic human behavior for one simple reason: *there is nothing limited about dying*. War by its very nature was considered unlimited. Total war and war were the same term to most Americans and in the minds of most people. Limited war for most of humanity was an oxymoron—a combination of contradictory and incongruous ideas. Limited war is limited at the strategic and operational levels of war. At the tactical level of war where the battles are fought and the wounding, suffering, and dying takes place, there is no such thing as limited war. Weapons produce the same effect in limited war as they do in total war. They kill. Limited war was an artificial, intellectual creation of the superpowers. There was nothing limited about the Korean War for Koreans. There was nothing limited about the Vietnam War for the Vietnamese. And there was nothing limited about both wars for dead Americans and their families.

The initial belief that airpower and nuclear weapons had produced a completely new way of war that greatly reduced the role of ground forces was wrong. In 1952, the United States tested the hydrogen bomb. It was immediately evident that this weapon was almost useless as a means for achieving political objectives. It was many times more powerful than the bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in World War II. It had absolutely no tactical or operational value, and its strategic value was questionable because, once employed, there was nothing left over which to be victorious. The only value of this weapon was in deterring nuclear war and total conventional war between major powers.

Osgood, in his 1957 study *Limited War: The Challenge to American Strategy*, defined and developed a theory of limited war that greatly influenced the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations:

A limited war is one in which the belligerents restrict the purpose for which they fight to concrete, well-defined objectives that do not demand the utmost military effort of which the belligerents are capable and that can be accommodated in a *negotiated settlement*. Generally speaking, a limited war actively involves only two (or very few) major belligerents in the fighting. The battle is confined to a local geographical area and directed against selected targets—primarily those of direct military importance. It demands of the belligerents only a fractional commitment of their human and physical resources. It permits their economic, social, and political patterns of existence to continue without serious disruption. . . . Furthermore, a war may be limited from the perspective of one belligerent, yet virtually unlimited in the eyes of another.²¹

Osgood believed that this was the most important issue of the day, involving not only the security of the United States but also the survival of Western civilization. He believed that the United States was not using its power properly and, as a result, had suffered a number of setbacks from the Communists, including the loss of a unified Korea. He believed that the reason the United States had not used its military power more effectively was because of a flawed concept of war: “In practice, the limitation of war is morally and emotionally repugnant to the American people.” Osgood sought to help the United States move beyond its “traditional approach to war” by advancing a theory of limited war. He delineated the traditional American approach to war, outlined the problems of that approach in a world of nuclear weapons, and formulated principles for the conduct of limited war, many of which corresponded with

Kissinger's thinking and were later adopted by the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations. Osgood wrote:

The administration, like Americans in general, sensed the unprecedented nature of the nation's course in world politics, and it was disturbed by its inability to reconcile this course with America's traditional image of itself as a bold and idealistic nation untrammelled by the moral ambiguities, the restraints and frustrations, of controlling, balancing, and moderating national power. Its response to this contradiction between reality and predisposition was to try to maintain a rhetorical bridge between them by invoking the inspirational phrases of "collective security" while depreciating the strategy that actually created an unbridgeable gulf [containment strategy]. This placed it at the double disadvantage of raising expectations that did not correspond with the facts and then defending the facts by throwing cold water on the expectations. The effect was not to build a bridge between reality and predisposition but rather to create the illusion of a bridge, which only compounded public frustration and bewilderment.²²

Nation-states live with many illusions that influence their actions. During the Cold War, the United States lived with many illusions of strategic importance that damaged the ability of the United States to achieve its political objectives through the use of military force. One was that technology had radically changed the nature of war. Osgood identified another illusion: while Americans accepted the policy of containment, *they did not accept the limited war strategy, which was inextricably part of it*. The illusion of unlimited war, of fighting war the traditional American way remained in place.

Containment was a defensive policy. It required the United States to prepare and to fight small and possibly large conventional wars using multiple means in various regions of the world that were *not* traditionally considered important to the security of the United States to counter Communist expansion. To contain communism, the United States had to forward deploy forces on the continent with the two most significant enemy nation-states, the USSR and the PRC. *Americans accepted the policy but not the national strategy and doctrine it required*. And there were consequences. Osgood noted: "*The United States would have been in a far better position to achieve its objectives in Korea if it had had a military establishment capable of handling an expanded war without rendering itself defenseless in every other part of the world. With another four divisions to expend, the UN forces might even have succeeded in unifying Korea . . . for the Chinese were committed to their full capacity. . . . Certainly the lesson here is that the greater our capacity for local defense, the more capable we shall be of resisting aggression at a cost commensurate with limited political objectives.*"²³ Osgood accepted the arguments made by Bradley and Collins in the years before the Korean War. Kissinger also advanced this thesis, noting that the United States could not realistically contemplate actions in peripheral regions without more significant conventional forces.²⁴

Osgood wrongly predicted the outcome of the transition required of the American people. He wrote: "[T]hat insofar as the United States had failed to anticipate and counter the Communist military and political threat as effectively as objective circumstances might have permitted, it has failed, fundamentally, because of a deficiency in American attitudes and conceptions rather than because of a lack of native intelligence, technical competence, or material power. But although this deficiency is deep-rooted [in American culture] and, one might say, almost

inevitable, considering the nature of American predispositions and experience in international politics, it is not irremediable and it need not be fatal." But, it was fatal. It was fatal to the people of North Korea, South Vietnam, and the entire Indochina Peninsula, and it was to the Nation's primary instrument for fighting conventional, limited war—the citizen-soldier Army.

Culturally, Americans could not adjust to limited, defensive wars of attrition, but they could change the nature of the Army they fielded and the way the United States fought limited war. The citizen-soldier Army was incapable of supporting limited war as conceived by Osgood and Kissinger and later practiced by Johnson and McNamara. And had the Korean War been a 10-year war, the citizen-soldier Army would have died in the late 1950s. The American citizen-soldier Army could fight limited *offensive war*, war in which the end of hostilities was based on the positive actions of the Nation, and thus, termination could be predicted. But permanent war would never be acceptable to the American people.

While Osgood identified the major problem of limited war for the American people, he and Kissinger developed a theory of limited war that conflicted with basic American cultural tenets that violated basic principles of war that went against human nature and that was ultimately unworkable. In the 1950s, there was a national propensity to discard the old, to think anew. There was a belief that as a result of advances in technology everything had changed so radically that nothing from the past mattered. There was also a belief that American power so exceeded that of other nation's that the rules that governed past wars no longer mattered to the United States. These beliefs and attitudes influenced the development of limited war theories. And while Osgood ably delineated the traditional American way of war, which was a function of cultural inheritance, he seemed to forget that Americans could not fight a war that did not conform, within broad parameters, to American thinking about the conduct of war. In other words, he asked the American people to become something other than who they were.

The Army's Arguments Against the New American Culture of War

It is useful to understand what unpreparedness actually meant. General Parks, writing in 1953, endeavored to describe the consequences of complacency:

In spite of these repeated examples of the hazards of unpreparedness [World Wars I and II], our people have yet to appreciate the near tragedy that developed at the outset of the fighting in Korea. . . . What were some of the specific results of this latest lapse in preparedness? Early in 1952, we ordered the withdrawal from Korea of the 24th Infantry Division, the first American outfit to be sent against the Communists. Those most familiar with the Division estimated that only two men remained of those who originally were rushed to the aid of the South Koreans. The rest were dead, wounded, prisoners or had been rotated back to this country. These men, together with units of the 2nd and 25th Infantry and the 1st Cavalry Divisions, later reinforced by the Marines and 7th Infantry Division, represented the total armed might of the United States at the outset of the Korean action. Many who never lived to tell the tale had to fight the full range of ground warfare from offensive to delaying action, unit by unit, man by man. . . . [T]hat we were able to snatch victory from defeat . . . does not relieve us from the blame for having placed our own flesh and blood in such a predicament.

Army leaders believed the Korean War proved the fallacy of the argument that nuclear weapons and airpower alone could keep the peace and advance American interests around the

world. They retained their belief that man was the ultimate weapon on the battlefield and advanced the concept of limited war—a concept that was different from that of Osgood in significant ways. Still, the Army never fully accepted the theory of strategic airpower. Starting in the late 1940s and throughout the 1950s, Army Chiefs of Staff and ground combat commanders argued against the new vision of war from the air with nuclear weapons. In defense of the Army, leaders such as Dwight D. Eisenhower, Omar N. Bradley, J. Lawton Collins, Mark W. Clark, Matthew B. Ridgway, Maxwell D. Taylor, James M. Gavin, Lyman L. Lemnitzer, Manton S. Eddy, Bruce C. Clarke, and others argued for the retention of significant ground combat forces to meet the growing Communist threat. Ironically, in 1948, Eisenhower, in his final report as Army Chief of Staff, was one of the first to raise the alarm:²⁵

The Army phases of a balanced air-sea-ground organization require special stress at a time when many voice the opinion that land forces have been made obsolete by the advance of aviation, the development of rockets, and the atomic bomb. Today the only element of the military establishment that can hold a defensive position, seize for exploitation a major offensive base, exercise direct complete control over an enemy population—three fundamental purposes of armed effort—is, as always, the foot-soldier. The introduction of the plane and the atomic bomb has no more eliminated the need for him than did the first use of cavalry or the discovery of gunpowder.²⁶

Armies exist for two basic purposes: first, to generate the combat power necessary to destroy enemy forces and thereby win wars and, second, to deter war through their demonstrative ability to generate combat power. Eisenhower recognized that the Army was primarily performing occupation duty and hence was not ready to fight. He further noted that the Army's lack of preparation for war invited war:

The budget of the Army and its numerical strength are devoted largely to the consequences of victory. Occupation is both worthy and necessary, but it must be seen as preventive rather than as positive security. Moreover, its physical magnitude and manifold problems demand such concentrated effort that relatively few men and little time are left for the Army's primary job. The purely security mission—organizing, training and sharpening for national defense—has necessarily taken second place. By no stretch of the facts can the United States Army, as it is now manned, deployed, and engaged, be considered an offensive force. It is not ready to respond to an emergency call because its global distribution not only leaves it weak in every sector but prevents the concentration of anything beyond the merest handful for possible tactical use. This virtually complete dispersion of our ground strength cannot be permitted to continue over any considerable period, because there are elements in both the world situation and our own strategic position that demand the constant availability of respectable land forces. . . .²⁷

Eisenhower then assessed the readiness of Army equipment: "Even our existing Regular Army is under-equipped with such modern weapons. The occupation mission, consuming more than two billion dollars of the Army's annual budget, plus other budgetary limitations, has left almost no money for current procurement. Unless this defect is remedied we will shortly have to acknowledge that in weapons and equipment our ground troops may prove inferior to a modern offensive force."²⁸ The Army was ill equipped and trained to perform either of its offensive, campaign-winning doctrines—infantry doctrine or armor-warfare doctrine in a major war. A few months after the initiation of hostilities in Korea, Bradley wrote:

It is now apparent that the aggression in Korea was well planned and well prepared and the militant international Communism inspired the northern invaders. It is also apparent that Communism is willing to use arms to gain its ends. This is a fundamental change and it has forced a change in our estimate of the military needs of the United States. [W]e have finally drawn the line. . . . We may in this way succeed in forcing the respect which we now know conciliation, appeasement and weakness can never bring. The cost will be heavy—but not as heavy as the war which we are now convinced would follow our failure to arm. [I]t is now evident that we must have an even greater flexibility of military power in the United States itself—not only for our own protection, but also to give us a ready, highly mobile standby force which we can bring to bear at any threatened point in the minimum time. . . .²⁹

These were strong words, uncharacteristic of Bradley. The term “appeasement” was loaded with memories of the failures of British and French foreign and military policies in the 1930s and knowledge of the sacrifices of World War II. Bradley, however, had good reason to stress this point. Truman and his advisers ignored the warnings and, as a consequence, share as much of the blame for the causes of the Korean War as the British for the causes of World War II, which, many people believe, was the result of their policy of appeasement. Bradley had argued for a rapid deployment force before the war in Korea, and he knew that sacrifices were again being made by servicemen in Korea—sacrifices that might have been avoided had the Army retained the respect it had at the close of World War II. Now, he hoped that events in Korea would convince political leaders to reverse the policies of the last 5 years that had so devastated the Army, the national will, and the Nation’s ability to protect its interests around the world. Bradley could have also noted that it was geography that saved South Korea. The proximity of the four divisions in Japan to the battlefield made possible the continued existence of South Korea. The Army did not have significant rapid deployment forces, and airpower could not stop the advancing North Korean Army, nor could the Navy and Marine Corps. Had US forces deployed from the west coast, they would have arrived too late to save South Korea.

Speaking during the war, the Army Chief of Staff, General Collins, endeavored to explain to the American people the many duties their Army was carrying out in all parts of the globe:

This Army . . . is deployed over the face of the world—with sizable forces located in forty-nine countries on six continents. In addition to the men of our great Eighth Army fighting in the mud and mountains of Korea, soldiers are keeping watch along the iron curtain in Berlin and Vienna, are participating in atomic tests in the Nevada desert, are standing guard along our northern approaches in Iceland, Greenland and Alaska, are assisting in the defense of Japan, are protecting our essential outposts in Panama and the Caribbean and on islands of the Pacific, and are providing advice and military assistance to our friends along the periphery of the Soviet empire in Europe, the Middle East and Asia. Within the continental United States, Army antiaircraft units are deployed to defend our cities and key industrial facilities and other Army forces are stationed in all of the forty-eight states.³⁰

Americans have never learned the lessons of the Korean War, and this failure has been evident in every war since.

Recommendations

Recommendations without power and position may be little more than useless, and some will consider them arrogant. Nevertheless, every American has the right, indeed the duty, to voice his or her concerns. Thus, I offer the following recommendations:

1. Reinstate the draft. Make the war a national war. Get the American people back involved in the Nation's war, and provide the Army with a source of manpower that is not based on how much money the Nation can afford to pay, or how much college tuition, or how big of a reenlistment bonus the Congress will provide. The US Army is too small. It absolutely has to be expanded. We are using up our soldiers. We are overcommitting them. The American sense of fairness and equality of sacrifice is being undermined. Who we are as Americans, what we stand for as a people is being diminished daily by the present situation and current system. One percent of the Nation should not have to bear the entire burden for war. This is wrong, and we all know it.
2. Develop a comprehensive strategy for the conduct of the current war, meaning a regional strategy for the Middle East. To be sure, each country has to be dealt with differently, taking into account the different political and economic situations and systems of each country. However, the United States should have an integrated regional strategy that includes Israel as an equal state not an exceptional state.
3. Develop and implement a "Marshall Plan" for the Middle East and Africa. This is absolutely necessary to destroy the environments in which terrorism grows. This should be a major part of American strategy for the region. With the money the Bush Administration has paid Halliburton and other private military firms (PMFs), it could have financed two Middle East Marshall Plans in the hundreds of billions of dollars.
4. Stop the privatization of war. The Bush Administration has greatly advanced a practice, initiated when Vice President Dick Cheney was Secretary of Defense, whereas the conduct of war is now a function of greed. Companies with the wherewithal to lobby Congress, such as Halliburton, Cheney's former company, have a vested interest in the outbreak and continuation of war. War equals profit. This is dangerous. In addition, the Army's ability to redeploy, sustain itself, control its operations, and control its quality of life has diminished. And what happens if the private firms desert us? Many PMFs are multinational companies that employ thousands of subcontractors from all parts of the world. The next logical step following privatization is unionization. It is not difficult to envision all the Iraqi subcontractors uniting with all the Egyptian, Filipino, and other foreign subcontractors to form unions with the wherewithal to strike for higher wages or other demands. PMFs have ambiguous status and uncertain loyalties. They could be working for al-Qaeda and the US Army at the same time. Many of these firms are located outside the United States and, therefore, are not subject to its laws. PMFs promote corruption in the governments of developing countries, endeavoring to effectively and efficiently manage their foreign aid and national resources. And this list of negatives is incomplete.³¹

5. Bring American intellectual power into the war. Bring American universities into the war. The most knowledgeable people on the Middle East are not in the Pentagon or the CIA or the State Department. The best language specialists do not work for the Federal Government. The best people are at Berkeley, Stanford, the University of Chicago, Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and so on. Historians, anthropologists, political scientists, foreign language professors, and other highly educated specialists could contribute greatly to the US war effort, better yet to enlighten US foreign policy. In addition, they would provide a different point of view. The group thinking and ideological perspective that permeates the Pentagon, White House, and Department of State would be diminished with outside input.

6. Increase greatly information operations and direct them at the younger generations. Eisenhower believed that the way the United States was going to win the Cold War was not with tanks and airplanes but with the American standard of living, with the demonstrative superiority of the American political and economic system to produce wealth and prosperity, to produce schools and hospitals, homes and cars, plenty in food and clothing, and everything a human being could want. This is what the United States ultimately has to offer to the developing world, to the Middle East, and to other countries fighting terrorist organizations, poverty, and war.

7. Form real coalitions. Form coalitions where other nation-states make real sacrifices and the United States is not bribing or paying them to be a part of the coalition. The arrogance, unilateralism, and ignorance of the Bush Administration have robbed the United States of the support that was possible in the Global War on Terrorism and in the Middle East wars. Bush, Cheney, and Rumsfeld were disdainful of the contributions of other countries. They insulted potential allies and alienated traditional allies. As a consequence, the United States has paid and paid and paid for this war. It didn't have to be this way. George Bush senior in Operation DESERT STORM formed a real coalition.

8. Work with and through the United Nations. The United Nations provides legitimacy. It can provide the United States with a cover for difficult decisions and actions. It can provide the framework that brings other nations onboard and into coalitions with the United States. The United States with all its great power can bargain with the UN in such a way as to produce win-win situations.

9. Base American foreign policy on the principles, values, and ethics of the Declaration of Independence. In other words, treat other people around the world the way we believe we ought to be treated. The United States to its great shame has tolerated genocide in Africa, ethnic cleansing in Eastern Europe, and starvation in various parts of the world. At the same time, it has wasted billions of dollars on researching and employing missile defense systems that do not work, developing and researching laser intercept systems that do not work, purchasing three new jet fighters (one for each service), replacing the world's best air-superiority fighter with another one only slightly better, and other enormously wasteful practices that benefit very narrow interests. In regard to weapons technology, the United States is no longer competing with the USSR; it is competing with itself.

10. Talk to the American people. Admit that mistakes have been made. Call for a new commitment. Ask for their support for a new strategy. Explain to the American people the consequences of failure. Put in place new leadership. Purge the administration of the neocons. Explain that a draft is necessary. Get rid of no-bid contracts. Get rid of the cozy relationship between the Pentagon, White House, and Halliburton and other PMFs. Stop the appearance of corruption. The American people will support a national war for objectives that are clearly in the best interest of the United States. Defeat in Iraq and Afghanistan and in other parts of the Middle East will be a disaster for the United States and other Western nations.

The war in Iraq in the summer of 2007 can still be won; that is, Iraq can still be stabilized maintaining its current geographical and political boundaries. The Bush Administration, however, cannot turn it around. Only new leadership that is politically courageous and adroit, with greater generosity toward other cultures and a less-aggressive, less-militaristic vision of the world than the Bush Administration can succeed. However, the United States needs more than new leadership. The American people also need a bigger vision of war and a better vision of the world. The United States cannot win a war without the US Army. And, the US Army cannot win a major war against a Nation or people without the real and enduring support of the American people. The lessons the Vietnam War have been ignored at a high cost.

Notes

1. The essay is based on my book, *The American Culture of War: The History of US Military Force From World War II to Operation Iraqi Freedom* (New York: Routledge Press, 2007).
2. Matthew B. Ridgway, *Soldier: The Memoirs of Matthew B. Ridgway* (New York: Harper, 1956), 312.
3. Ibid., 191.
4. See chapter 1 of *The American Culture of War* for a more detailed discussion of “culture.”
5. John Shy, “The American Military Experience,” *A People Numerous and Armed*, Rev. ed. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990), 272.
6. Colin Gray, *War, Peace, and Victory* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990), 45, 46.
7. Shy, 279, 280.
8. Ridgway, 191.
9. The US Army Center of Military History provided the figures on Army manpower strength and numbers of divisions.
10. Dwight D. Eisenhower, *Crusade in Europe* (New York: Doubleday, 1948), 456.
11. Maxwell D. Taylor, *The Uncertain Trumpet* (New York: Harper & Bros, 1960), 3, 4.
12. Eisenhower, 455, 456 (italics added).
13. Giulio Douhet, *The Command of the Air*, in *Roots of Strategy*, bk. 4, ed. David Jablonsky (Mechanicsburg: PA: Stackpole Books, 1999), 284.
14. Eric Katz, “On the Neutrality of Technology,” *Death by Design: Science, Technology, and Engineering in Nazi Germany* (New York: Longman, 2006), 291. *Technology is not value free*. Katz wrote:

“The popular view that science is value-free has also come under attack in this time period. Indeed, one way to characterize the postmodern age in which we live is by acknowledging as a basic idea that all human creations—both ideas and physical artifacts—are the products of a particular culture and history and that they are endowed by the creative process with the specific values and purposes of the culture of subculture (race, class, gender) that created them. No human creation is morally neutral or value-free because all are the product of a particular culture and worldview.”

15. Technology, like ideology, is, in large part, an attribute of culture. Science is not simply a logical deductive reasoning process in a particular discipline. What is studied, how it is studied, and the conclusions that are drawn are greatly influenced by culture. Science, engineering, and research are not value free, are not neutral. What is asked from science, the problems to which scientific solutions are sought, and the ways in which science is applied to achieve particular ends are a function of culture. If given the same scientific resources and the same problem, the way different cultures employed those resources to develop solutions would vary greatly. War is a problem to which technological solutions are sought. However, the ways in which states go about employing their resources to this problem are a function of their culture and history, as well as the limitations of their scientific attainment and resources. Give an American a billion dollars and a military problem and he will, without question or doubt, build an airplane that permits the destruction of the enemy from the greatest possible range.

16. See Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, ed. and trans. Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976).

17. Richard P. Hallion, *Storm Over Iraq: Air Power and the Gulf War* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), 1.

18. Robert Oppenheimer, “Atomic Weapons and American Policy,” *Foreign Affairs*, 21, no. 4 (July 1953): 529 (italics added). Quoted in Lawrence Freedman, *The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1983), 94.

19. Clausewitz, 313 (italics added).

20. *Ibid.*, 75.

21. Robert E. Osgood, *Limited War: The Challenge to American Strategy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), 1, 2.

22. *Ibid.*, 191.

23. *Ibid.*, 183

24. Henry A. Kissinger, “Military Policy and Defense of the ‘Grey Areas,’” *Foreign Affairs*, 33 (April 1955), 421, 427.

25. Between 1 January and 30 June 1950, the authorized strength of the Regular Army was cut from 677,000 to 630,000 to meet budgetary limits. In January 1950, the actual strength was 638,824. By June, the month the Korean War started, it had dropped to 591,487 or 38,513 below the authorization.

26. Dwight D. Eisenhower, “The Long Pull for Peace” *AID*, April 1948, 33–41. From the “Final Report of the Chief of Staff General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower.”

27. Eisenhower, “The Long Pull for Peace,” 33–41.

28. *Ibid.*

29. General Omar Bradley, US Army, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, “The Path Ahead,” *AID*, October 1950, 24–26.

30. J. Lawton Collins, Chief of Staff, US Army, “Men, Materiel and Money,” *AID*, July 1953, 8–16.

31. See P. W. Singer, *Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003); Dina Rasor and Robert Bauman, *Betraying Our Troops: The Destructive Results of Privatizing War* (New York: Palgrave, 2007); Ali A. Allawi, *The Occupation of Iraq: Winning the War, Losing the Peace* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007).